

THE UNITY
OF GERMANY
MUST
SERVE PEACE

Documents on the National Policy of the GDR
3,1966

The Unity of Germany must serve Peace

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VERLAG ZEIT IM BILD

Verlag Zeit im Bild Dresden
Translation: Intertext
Production: Grafischer Grossbetrieb
Völkerfreundschaft Dresden
Photo: Zentralbild
426 66 - 2 3 4 5 (2)

*Walter Ulbricht at the 12th Session of the
Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany
on 28 April 1966*

Dear Comrades,

In the discussion between the SED and SPD which was introduced by the "Open Letter to the Delegates of the Dortmund Congress of the SPD and All Members and Friends of Social Democracy in West Germany" of 7 February 1966 the first phase of the discussion has led to the beginning of the debate on a few basic questions. Today already we can say that the great initiative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in the effort to bring about an understanding of the working class of the two German states has been justified.

If the party executive of the SPD had the intention of evading the basic questions, if possible, and concentrating on questions of tourist traffic, human alleviations, etc., it became obvious already in this first phase of the discussion that such an intention cannot be realized. Meanwhile the SPD leadership itself has discussed a few basic questions and even expressed the desire to discuss programmatic questions with us.

On the other hand, it has not yet replied to the decisive basic questions which were raised by us in our first letter.

On the Situation of the Nation

In the meantime we have done important preliminary work for the peaceful settlement of the German question in a critical stock-taking on the situation

of the nation on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the unification of the Communist Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

This stock-taking on the situation of the nation which is contained in my speech on the occasion of the 20th anniversary has yielded the following:

The political, economic and cultural successes of the German Democratic Republic and the raising of its international authority have strengthened the position of the GDR and are the object of the justified pride of its citizens.

On the other side, in the West German Federal Republic, the "formed society" proclaimed by the CDU makes itself felt through growing internal contradictions and a great and only all too justified uneasiness in the population.

In the New Year's Message of the Council of State of the GDR, in our proposal to the governments of the European states on the guaranteeing of European security and in our application for the admission of the GDR to the United Nations we have made constructive proposals for the safeguarding of peace in Germany and in Europe. But the government of the West German Federal Republic persists in its revanchist policy, its claims to territories of neighbouring states and, in doing so, speculates on the help of the US imperialists.

Comrade Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, recently

proposed at a press conference in Rome an all-European conference on a high level on questions of European security. As subjects for discussion he named, among others, the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Europe and the liquidation of foreign military bases. He especially emphasized the necessity of the peaceful solution of the German problem. These proposals of Comrade Gromyko fully correspond to our points of view.

The West German CDU/CSU and the Bonn government have developed their conception in the demand for the shared control over atomic weapons, in their atomic armament, in the aggressive forward strategy, in the plan of the undercover war against the GDR and in the Grey Plan of the Mende ministry for the plundering of the GDR.

In the programmatic speech on the 20th anniversary of the unification of the KPD and SPD in the present GDR I asked the West Germans "to see that in 1945 the books were finally closed on a whole epoch of German history. The present frontiers are the result of the criminal predatory wars of the German imperialists and their atrocious crimes. I can only tell the West Germans that it is no use to you if you tie yourselves ten times to the USA's apron-strings. You will obtain nothing! Finally stop pitying yourselves and lamenting the frontiers gambled away by the German imperialists as well as the frontier between the two German states and between the GDR and West Berlin. It would be more reasonable finally to carry

through a democratic transformation in West Germany, too, a transformation which makes possible the joining of the two German states and West Berlin in a German confederation."

Now we have asked the social democrats about the attitude of the SPD to the vital questions of the nation. What kind of Germany is the SPD thinking about?

We have left no doubt that the GDR pursues the road of socialism unswervingly in the interests of its citizens and the entire German people and that it also can and will do so without the West German Federal Republic.

But at the same time we developed our conceptions on the road of the two German states and on the perspective of their cooperation in the German confederation at our celebration of the 20th anniversary of the SED. Nobody can say that we play with covered cards. We want to include our conceptions in the open talk with the West German social democrats. We have pointed out the way which leads to the future united fatherland of the Germans.

Thus the discussion is raised to the basic level of the role of the responsibility of the working class and the forces of the intellectuals, farmers and other working people allied with it. It is made clear that not only the fundamental decisions of the Potsdam Agreement but also the new democratic shaping can be carried out in West Germany.

Dear Comrades,

We are satisfied that after so many years of official silence in the relations between the SED and SPD the open exchange of opinions and arguments has begun.

We think that this beginning of an open discussion can be very significant for further developments in Germany. We consider the discussion with the SPD not as a kind of free-style wrestling match in the mud-bath in which no hold is barred. We conduct the discussion with the SPD matter-of-factly and with the aim of rapprochement and understanding. And we stick to it.

Naturally it is expressed in the correspondence that the two parties are in a very different situation. We think that the working class in making policy poses the question of the road to winning political power. It raises the question of what methods of the unification of all forces are to be sought, and what organizational tasks are to be solved.

Now it is well known that in the GDR the working people already have the political power in their hands, whereas in West Germany the capitalist class rules and the SPD has been excluded from power since the founding of the West German Federal Republic.

Thus the purpose of our discussion with the SPD is not least to reach understanding on how through cooperation in West Germany the working people can attain positions of political power. This is necessary also

because this would make possible the growing together of the two German states.

The West German working people must come to see that only the rule of the people protects the lives and homes of the Germans!

On a Few Minimum Demands for the Safeguarding of Peace

We want a broad open discussion on the vital questions of our nation. We do not demand from our West German discussion partners who are not discussion opponents to us that they change their world outlook or their basic conceptions. We do not make any conditions at all in this respect.

But we frankly say that we must all take part in the decision "war or peace". We do not make any demands on our discussion partners, and we do not set ourselves tasks which go beyond what can be accepted with good conscience by every normally thinking, peace-loving citizen of the West German Federal Republic as well as of the German Democratic Republic, no matter to what world outlook or political party he may cling. What demands and tasks are these?

- 1) Establishment of normal relations between the two biggest German parties, their organizations and their members as well as between the social organizations of the two German states.

- 2) Conclusion of an agreement that the two German states renounce every form of control or shared control over nuclear weapons.
- 3) Conclusion of an agreement that representatives of the two working-class parties oppose the emergency laws. For in the opinion of responsible West German citizens too, the emergency legislation is directed at the suppression of the West German working people and the preparation of war.
- 4) Normalization of the relations between the two German states through official agreements of the two governments. This normalization of relations is necessary in the interest of the rapprochement and cooperation of the two German states and the formation of a German confederation paving the way to unification.
- 5) Joint attitude of the SED and SPD on the guaranteeing of European security through agreement on the renunciation of the use of force, between all European states, through renunciation of the use of atomic weapons and respect for the frontiers existing for more than twenty years.

I believe that nobody can dispute that our demands can be accepted by every responsible German in east and west.

On the Working out of a Program

Thus the working out of a program of the social and national popular movement for peace, democracy and progress in the whole of Germany stands on the agenda of the open discussion between the working class and all progressive forces.

The SPD party executive has recommended the social democratic Godesberg Program for the study of all organizations of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in its second Open Reply.

We do not see the problem so much in the content of the SPD's Godesberg Program but rather in the fact that a development is taking place in West Germany which stands in gross contradiction even to this program. For example, there is nothing in the Godesberg Program which could justify approval of the emergency legislation or the striving of the Bonn government for atomic co-determination or an encouragement of the dirty war of the USA against the Vietnamese people or adaptation to the formed society of the CDU and the employers' associations.

We think that it is urgently necessary in the interest of the matter that the SPD party executive break its silence on what it thinks about the future Germany. It is necessary finally to set forth concretely what kind of Germany the party executive of the SPD is really working for. A Germany under the rule of the multi-millionaires and the propertied bourgeoisie?

sie? Or a Germany in which power derives from the people and is exercised by it, too, in which the working class is in power in alliance with the farmers, intellectuals and all the other working people in cooperation with democratic circles and realizes a regime of peace and social justice?

A Humanitarian Program is Necessary in West Germany

But we welcome this proposal of the SPD party executive to have a programmatic discussion and would like to extend the proposal to include in the talks between our two parties, along with the SPD's Godesberg Program, the program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the programmatic speech on the 20th anniversary of the SED and make them the basis of the discussion.

I think that this is a very concrete and fair proposal for realizing the suggestion of the SPD party executive. This will at the same time enable the members of the two biggest German parties to become better acquainted with the mutual aims and views.

Moreover, we would welcome it if the SPD party executive would always bear in mind the inevitable reciprocity with which such or other proposals must be met from the very outset.

What Reasons Induced Us to Write to the SPD?

Dear Comrades,

Many West Germans want to know why we took the initiative for the dialogue with the West German social democrats just now. They ask how it is to be explained that the discussion began and also meets with such a great response among the working people of the West German Federal Republic.

We were guided by the following considerations:

The historical experiences of the German people teach us that the dangers approaching in West Germany to our people must be eliminated in good time. The long years of preparations for the long, bloody night of dictatorship by the nazi party, by the most reactionary and rapacious circles of armament capital and by the leading military clique are a constant admonition to the German working class and our people. Fascism at home as well as the policy of expansion and the grasping of hegemony in Europe must be combated already at the beginning. The West Germans must therefore prevent atomic armament, the emergency decrees and the liquidation of democracy by the formed CDU leadership.

To this must be added:

West Germany is at present the most dangerous arsenal of nuclear weapons in Europe. And this state, of all states, makes territorial demands

itself, demands the right of shared control over nuclear weapons and has worked out in its general staff the plans for military aggression against the east.

We have taken the initiative for talks with the SPD to help the West German working class to perceive its great historical responsibility and to play that role in West Germany which is due to it.

Our assessment of the situation is that the SPD leadership saw itself induced for various reasons, against its custom, to reply to our initiative and begin the exchange of arguments and opinions.

There is a great uneasiness among the members and friends of West German social democracy, among the trade unionists and non-party workers. The outcome of the Bundestag elections in the autumn of 1965 contributed to it as much as the decisions of the CDU congress and the government declaration of Herr Erhard on the formed society and the demand on the working people to exercise restraint. And many West Germans fear being caught up in the USA's Vietnam war.

The proclamation of the "formed society" means not only the liquidation of democracy, but also higher armament burdens, "restraint" and the capitalist manipulation of the life of the people. The propaganda of the economic miracle has given way to the reality of the sharpening of the internal contradictions between the interests of monopoly capital and the interests of the working class and other working sections.

In this situation it would have been difficult to ignore the initiative of the SED as many previous initiatives of ours.

To this is added the fact that the attempt to isolate the SED from the socialist states must be perceived to have failed definitively. Thus the SPD leadership clings to the hope of still being able to obtain something by throwing a spoke into the wheel of the GDR. The idea of obtaining an admission ticket to a great coalition by doing so may also have played a role. The newspaper *Die Welt* of the Springer trust expresses this somewhat more distinctly by declaring that the SPD should go into the front-line of disputes for the aggressive policy of West German imperialism, the more so since the policy up to now of the annexation of the GDR has proved a failure. Not only West German politicians but also West German visitors to the GDR must admit the growing socialist state consciousness of the citizens of the GDR. Thus it was evident that new methods are to be sought for.

But the chief reason is probably the growing anxiety among the West German population. In fact the West German Federal Republic is setting course for a new pre-war period ever more visibly under the leadership of the ruling imperialist forces and their CDU government. This is shown by the scientific analysis of developments in West Germany giving due consideration to our historical experiences.

I think it very noteworthy that leading bourgeois scientists of the West

German Federal Republic who have nothing at all to do with Marxism or socialism have come to results similar to ours by reason of their knowledge of history, their personal observations and experiences. Their concern for the development in West Germany sometimes already borders on despair. Out of the responsibility that many leading intellectuals feel, they seek contact with the only force which would be in a position – together with the people of the German Democratic Republic – to turn things to the good. They call upon the West German trade unions, the West German working class to resist, those same circles with whom we, too, are conducting the open talk on basically the same subject.

A living testimony of the deep anxiety which developments in West Germany have elicited among intellectuals is the moving letter of the 83-years-old natural scientist and Nobel Prize Winner Professor Max Born to Otto Brenner, chairman of the Metalworkers' Industrial Union, requesting him to do everything possible to prevent the emergency legislation in the West German Federal Republic. He writes:

"I think that it is quite intolerable to recognize and accept the regulations (meaning the emergency laws) which are to come into effect this year." And he goes on to state in this letter: "Politically seen, it can scarcely have any other purpose than to get control of the masses of the people to prepare a military dictatorship and war ... Seen from the aspect of internal policy, the emergency laws are a method of destroying (West)

German democracy which is still weak and shaky. They are aimed at the restoration of an authoritarian state and are directed against the beginnings of bourgeois responsibility which have developed . . . Today I see in the emergency legislation the first stage of the last catastrophe of Germany – and perhaps of the whole of mankind; for all peoples are companions in misfortune, as it were, some of them guilty, others less so."

Professor Born regrets being 83 years old and too ill to do anything. He is also too old to go into exile again and could moreover not expect it of his wife who suffers from a heart disease. He refers to the experiences of his long life which also proved that his political judgment is not bad. In most cases he foresaw political developments correctly. He implores the trade unions to become active and put a stop to the disaster.

The West German bourgeois philosopher Karl Jaspers startled the West German "prosperity society" with a book of which as yet only extracts are known. Its title is *Were Is the Federal Republic Going?*

What does the bourgeois philosopher Jaspers state? I quote him. The democracy of the West German Federal Republic is changing before our eyes. Roads are being taken at the end of which there will be neither democracy nor a free citizen; perhaps without those who take them wanting this end . . . In the structure of the Federal Republic a change is taking place from democracy to the oligarchy of parties, from the oligarchy of parties to dictatorship . . . The citizens of West Germany are subjects, not

bearers of the state. Every four years they elected a list submitted to them without knowing what they elected . . . The authors of the constitution obviously feared the people. For this law limits the effectiveness of the people to a minimum. It can scarcely be maintained that in the Federal Republic the people have a political will of their own. The ignorance of most of the people is more than frightening. The parties do not inform and educate the people and to not teach them to think. In the elections they operate according to the principles of publicity technique. Their actions consider the material interests of groups whose votes they want to gain. If it were to come to a big coalition in West Germany, that means to a government of the CDU/CSU and SPD, the West German sham-democracy would completely disappear in the authoritarian government of the oligarchy of the parties. It means contempt for the people. It leans to withholding information from the people. It prefers them to remain stupid. The next step will then be that to dictatorship . . . Legal claims of the West German Federal Republic which are not recognized as rights by foreign states and its allegation that peace is endangered if these legal claims are not fulfilled endanger security and become themselves the cause of war danger. The unclarity on the actual world situation leads to a policy which increases insecurity by alleging that it is being decreased.

Jaspers speaks of the fact that only a people pressing for freedom and that is self-confident in doing so can realize democracy. That is correct.

But this pressure must be directed to the decisive freedom, to social freedom, to the freedom from the exploitation of man by man. This becoming free of an entire people is no simple process which depends on correct thinking alone, especially not if, as in Germany, the fascist dictatorship with its misanthropic ideology influenced and poisoned the thinking and acting of millions.

We therefore consider it one of the greatest successes that the consciousness of the people experienced a revolutionary change in the GDR, a change which is based on the revolution of the conditions of existence by the people, on the liquidation of capitalist property and exploitation. Truth requires it to be said that this was no process which took place spontaneously. It demanded hard work and pains which especially the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class took upon itself.

This revolutionary process of mental change is not yet understood today by many West Germans, among them men like Jaspers. But the time will come when every unbiased observer will have to accept the fact that the GDR is the home of democracy, freedom and humanism in Germany.

Jaspers says in another place:

"There is a deep rift in the way of thinking of the German people. It had long existed before it was expressed so distinctly and frighteningly in the First World War. Because of this rift the German can only stand on one side, either on that of political freedom or on that of the unpolitical brutality

of stubborn, boundless wilfulness, not ready to listen to reason and to think, disguised in supposed absolute 'patriotic' power interests. Anyone who remains uncertain in this either-or, who believes he has found a compromise here and is not ready, in the worst case, for civil war, has in fact already yielded to the unpolitical thoughtlessness of the 'fatherland party' without knowing it and without wanting it."

In fact something new is visible here. Jaspers says that the deep rift was already visible in the First World War. And already then a part of the bourgeois intelligentsia turned to an anti-imperialist position. Such outstanding poets and writers as Johannes R. Becher, Bert Brecht, Kurt Tucholsky and many others changed over to the side of the anti-imperialist and democratic forces in deep emotion from the experience of the First World War and afterwards. Not a few members of the bourgeois intelligentsia then joined the Communist Party.

In the Second World War and afterwards a similar process took place. A part of the Germans capitulated to Hitler, but other Germans – and among them many members of the intelligentsia – resisted and first assumed an anti-fascist, humanist position. Later, after the founding of the GDR, they approached the first German workers' and peasants' state and supported it in its struggle for peace and humanism. Characteristic of this development are Heinrich and Thomas Mann.

It is no accident that just after the congress of the West German CDU,

after the proclamation of the "formed society" in West Germany well-known writers such as Enzensberger, Hochhuth and Weiss, along with outstanding scholars, scientists and also a few philosophers opposed the policy of the formed society, the enslavement and the complete manipulation of the people.

I have presented the views of leading bourgeois scientists from West Germany in such detail because to me they seem to be symptomatic of the deep concern which has gripped broad circles of the West German intelligentsia. In the spirit of their perceptions and ideas a movement is developing in West Germany in the working class, among intellectuals and the peasantry. This is proved by many talks, speeches and articles. Some speak of the mobilization of democracy, others of the necessity of a leftwing national party, and others again demand the unification of all forces against the support of the USA's dirty war in Vietnam, against the striving for joint control of atomic weapons, etc. But where is the only force which is able to gather all these currents together? Where does the West German working class stand, and what is it doing?

All this shows how necessary is the open discussion between the SED and SPD, between the two biggest German parties on either side.

The Growing Contradictions of the West German Formed State Monopoly Capitalism

A scientific analysis of the development of the relation of forces underlies the initiative of the Central Committee of our party. In it we apply Lenin's theoretical perceptions on the nature of imperialism to the present situation in Germany.

The basic contradiction between labour and capital has further sharpened in the countries of the capitalist system. The exploitation of the working people has increased especially because of the technical revolution. The capital power of the big trusts has grown. Their pressure for economic and political expansion has intensified.

When we take as a basis of the analysis of the present situation the law of the unequal development in capitalism discovered by Lenin it becomes obvious first that the opposition between capitalism and socialism has not at all reduced the antagonistic contradictions between the imperialist states. The contradictions between the USA and the other imperialist states which were covered over temporarily because of the economic preponderance of American imperialism have recently come much more strongly into the foreground again.

Another extremely important factor which must be analysed is the advancing militarization of the national economy in the imperialist states.

It is confirmed that the armament economy has increasingly become a column bearing the entire capitalist system and a source of immense profits for the armament trusts.

Thus the antagonistic contradictions of the system have further sharpened. The social democratic scientist Fritz Vilmar comes to quite similar results in a thorough investigation. Political world crises and wars such as the war of the USA against the Vietnamese people have increasingly become the expression of these antagonistic contradictions.

Finally the growing political, economic and military power of the socialist states essentially influenced the coming into existence and growth of political antagonisms between imperialist countries.

With regard to the situation in West Germany the correctness of the fundamental statements made at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the deepening of the internal antagonistic contradictions of the capitalist world system has become especially evident. We agree with this analysis, and I do not need to repeat it here.

To me it is a question of showing the factors which indicate that in the recent period a change of the relation of forces has taken place to the disadvantage of the West German imperialists.

As is well known, the German imperialists suffered a heavy defeat in the Second World War. But the rulers of the other imperialist states helped them to regain their strength so as to set up on German soil a bulwark

against the movement for peace, democracy and socialism. Through the Marshall Plan and other auxiliary measures the West German imperialists obtained a considerable increase in economic power over quite a long period which they utilized to expand their political and economic influence in the capitalist world, also against their former imperialist helpers.

At this stage the imperialists whose rule was confined to West Germany insisted on realizing the aim of their aggressive policy which they had worked out long before in order to revise the results of the Second World War. Basically they proceeded in accordance with the same recipe as their imperialist predecessors after the defeat of Germany in the First World War. Then, too, they intended to revise the results of the war. And for this purpose they made use of fascism in order first to liquidate the Weimar democracy and smash the organizations of the working class.

Now they rely on the closest complicity with the US imperialists in their quite similar projects. This is naturally a sign of their relative weakness and dependence. For formerly they still believed themselves able to attain world supremacy with their own forces. Today they must content themselves with the role of a partner dependent on the USA and not having the same rights. As a French general put it recently, they direct their day-dreams no longer to the "holy Reich of the German nation" but to the "holy German-American empire". According to the formula "we are giants economically but dwarfs politically" they claim political influence also in

other spheres and fields of the world which corresponds to their economic power. In doing so they overlook, in their usual arrogance, that they have long lost their connection with the two real economic giants on the world scale and at a great distance behind them, lead a group of industrial powers economically. With the preparation of their emergency dictatorship the West German imperialists take measures to be in a position to politically eliminate the West German working class and its organizations with force at a given time.

Now a few factors have become effective in the last months which prevented an inner imperialist change in the relation of forces in favour of the West German imperialists. On the whole their forces are stagnating. They even have not been spared a few setbacks. The tempo of the economic growth of West Germany has for some time already been lower than that of a few other capitalist states. Experts assume that in 1966 the growth of the West German social product will for the first time lag behind the average growth of the West European countries.

Important problems of the national economic structure, especially those of hard coal mining, have not been mastered with the resources of monopoly state capitalism and have turned into genuine structural crises. Important branches, as the steel industry and parts of the building industry were hit by partial crises. In industry productivity is increasing more slowly than in past periods. In 1965, for the first time in many years, an

large balance of payment deficit occurred whose extent was only mitigated by considerable capital imports.

The political antagonism between France and the USA which was also conditioned by the change in the economic relation of forces objectively aggravated the position of the West German imperialists. But whereas France under the leadership of de Gaulle feels strong enough economically and politically to remove the status of dependence on Washington connected with membership in the NATO military system, Bonn behaves in a quite different way.

In the incapability typical of the German imperialists to assess the situation realistically they try to utilize de Gaulle's conflict with Washington to take over the commanding positions of France in the NATO, obtain the shared control over atomic weapons through a bilateral military pact and thus stabilize the Washington-Bonn axis. Whereas President de Gaulle looks after the national interests on questions of the sovereignty of his country, Bonn subordinates the national interests to the interests of the USA.

The contradiction between the objectives of the Bonn rulers in their international and Germany policy and their economic potentials becomes ever more obvious. The economic concessions to the USA and the EEC as well as the expenditures for neocolonialist projects with which the approval of the political aims of the Bonn rulers is to be bought, are increasingly charged to the working people.

A change of the relation of forces to the disadvantage of the Bonn rulers makes itself felt also within West Germany – though it is still slow for the time being.

Antagonistic contradictions develop between the monopolies and ever growing parts of the population. The policy of monopoly state capitalism, represented by one-and-a-half dozen leading trusts (for example, IG-Farben, Siemens, AEG, Thyssen, Flick, Krupp, etc.) and the top of the Bonn state apparatus meets with the increasingly determined resistance of those on whom the burdens of this policy are to be imposed. Not only the top men of the state ministerial bureaucracy, also the so-called democratic parties themselves are step by step put into the service of the monopolies – for example, through the state financing of the parties and through the previously fixed nomination of the candidates. The Bonn Basic Law only serves as a decorative element. The basic rights of the citizens are increasingly deprived of their real content.

The working class and the other working sections come to feel the policy of the state apparatus guided by the employers' associations ever more distinctly. The subordination of the national economy to militarization not only applies to armament production itself. Expenditures for science, especially for research, for the so-called infrastructure, especially area planning and road construction, are determined by military considerations.

The inflationary effects of the armament policy, the devaluation of

money which is expressed in the creeping rise in prices alarms growing parts of the population. They are beginning to better understand the connection between the aggressive policy and the shifting of the armament costs to the working people. Progressive circles of the West German trade unions oppose the policy of the ruling forces. They have inflicted a few tactical defeats on them in the struggle against the emergency legislation and are now making efforts to organize a great fighting action for the co-determination of the working people in the industrial trusts.

The centrally guided employers' associations are fighting against this action in every possible way. They struggle against the co-determination of the working people under the slogan that the democratization of the economy is as nonsensical as the democratization of the schools, the barracks or the prisons.

German imperialism, the deciding circles of monopoly capital and the formed leadership of the CDU/CSU are the chief obstacles to social development in West Germany. The basic contradiction between the owners of the means of production, especially the monopoly capitalists and the working people exploited by them is sharpening as a result of the technical revolution. In his booklet *Die kapitalistischen Widersprüche und die Kämpfe um die Mitbestimmung in Westdeutschland* (Capitalist Contradictions and the Struggles for Co-determination in West Germany) Professor Reinhold has pointed out the polarization of class forces in West Germany.

Statistics prove that the number of workers has grown. The persons living from the sale of their labour power amount to 75 per cent of the population of West Germany whereas the share of the bourgeoisie is only 5.1 per cent, and of those only one per cent belong to the ruling monopoly groups. This polarization of the property in the means of production which was accelerated through the scientific-technical revolution has made the struggle for the right of co-determination of the workers and their trade unions and the nationalization of the big monopolies one of the most current problems. The technical revolution faces the workers, office employees and scientists with the focal questions: For whose benefit is the technical revolution? Who appropriates the fruits of labour? Official statistics prove that the real wages of the workers are maintained and even improved temporarily, it is true, but that the degree of exploitation tremendously increases. From 1953 to 1963 the national income of West Germany increased about two-and-a-half-fold, whereas the officially indicated assets of the millionaires increased eightfold.

A growing feeling of insecurity is spreading among the workers and office employees. The job is insecure. If it must be changed, it is partly connected with a deterioration of working conditions, at least for the first time. The feeling of insecurity is also nourished by the extension of the armament economy. The war of the USA against the Vietnamese people with its escalation has especially intensified this feeling of insecurity.

Growing dissatisfaction is caused by the complete leading by the nose of people through the capitalist opinion factories. Even leisure time is utilized capitalistically. These opinion factories force down the level of cultural life with trashy novels, bad films and the Americanization of entertainment.

The uniformed society in which people are increasingly manipulated by the institutions of the ruling capitalist forces has assumed alarming forms. We direct the question especially to the social democrats and the trade unions: What are they doing for the free development of the human personality and for the development of the community of working people, against this capitalist manipulation of people? To preserve and develop the humanist culture of the Germans requires a determined struggle against this Americanization and capitalist manipulation of the people. This also belongs to the programmatic discussion between the SED and SPD.

We appeal to the moral forces of the West German population to defend themselves against the refined methods of the new Goebbels propaganda of the "formed society". Let us express it openly: In view of this situation the reunification of Germany is possible in freedom only through the creation of real democratic freedom in West Germany. This requires first of all the liquidation of the power of the capitalist opinion factories.

The common fighting slogan is:

Humanism against imperialism, liberation of the people from the strait-jacket of the formed hierarchy.

Only the rule of the people protects the Germans' homes and lives!

I still want to make the following comment on the economic foundations of the formed society and its contradictions:

The West German monopolists assume that in recent years an economic basis has come into existence for them on which the so-called "formed society" could be set up as the dictatorship of the big monopolies and their Hitler generals as a superstructure.

In fact the big trusts succeeded in increasing the exploitation of the working people quite enormously and making thousands of millions of profit in the period of the technical revolution.

The monopolists give a part of these profits back to the workers, partly under political pressure, partly out of coldblooded calculation. This is due to the fact that the fighting conditions of the West German working class and its trade unions are relatively favourable. Thus the existence and the progress of the GDR have an effect on the fact that these fighting conditions of the West German workers have improved.

On the other hand the monopolists speculate that they will better succeed in extending their power apparatus, consolidating it and carrying through their policy of imperialist expansion if they fulfil a few important economic demands of the workers and their trade unions. They believe that thus the social basis could be created for the formed society of monopoly state capitalism and its imperialist revanchist policy.

The chief function of this formed society consists in ousting the fundamental class antagonisms between labour and capital from the consciousness of the exploited working people, hushing up the deep antagonistic contradictions of this system and guiding the great mass of the inhabitants of the country like a herd of sheep as the interests of the monopolists require it. On this economic basis the monopolists strive for an apparent community between their little clique and the great mass of the exploited with the aim of the struggle against democracy and against the GDR.

This "community" has a quite one-sided and infamous character. In this way the working people are to be changed into objects of the policy of the multi-millionaires who are manipulated and directed by them as required by the interests of the ruling class. By influencing the right-wing leaders of the SPD and the trade unions they intend to change the working people and their organizations into mere chessmen who are moved only in accordance with the will of the trust managers. In this sense the big capitalist manipulation of the entire intellectual and cultural life is also advanced.

The big mistake of the SPD leadership is that it does not argue with this formed society from the standpoint of the working class but tries to adapt itself to it. With the GDR backing it and being certain of its support it could prevent the setting up of the formed society which is connected with militarization, together with the DGB (Federation of German Trade

Unions) and squeeze out much greater concessions from the monopolists and inflict genuine and heavy political defeats on them.

The fundamental error of the trust managers is that they assume that the antagonistic contradictions forcibly resulting from the mode of production of monopoly state capitalism would admit the stabilization of such a formed society. Now already the workers determinedly defend themselves against the imposition of the burdens of armament on them. With a further abatement of the boom, antagonisms would be further aggravated and the economic foundations of the formed society shaken. The error further consists in the assumption that the working class of West Germany would allow for an extended period that its historically grown claim to the leadership of society in the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism and the technical revolution should be bought by the monopolists for the mess of pottage of the formed society.

It is a law of social development that the West German working class will form up to shake off the fetters of this formed society.

In the technical revolution the described development faces West Germans with the decision that either the working class with the scientists takes over the management and control of the economy or the monopolists with their greed for profit and eagerness for expansion will plunge West Germany into new dangerous adventures. Since in the modern age the roots of wars lie in the mode of production of monopoly state capitalism,

imperialism must be hit in its heart. This has become especially urgent for West Germany.

The strengthening of the GDR, its development into a modern socialist industrial state with an intensive agriculture takes effect in West Germany to a growing degree. Even notorious enemies of the GDR are now beginning to assess the strength and influence of the GDR more correctly.

These factors taken together have created a situation in which broad sections of West Germans are gradually coming to see that the official Bonn policy is in a hopeless blind alley. Nevertheless the Bonn government stubbornly and unreasonably persists in its revanchist demands, on the restoration of an imperialist German state within the frontiers of 1937, on the liquidation of the GDR. All this despite the fact that in relation to these plans of aggression the forces of West German imperialism and its possibilities are completely insufficient and that this relation continues to develop to its disadvantage.

The West German imperialists speculate that they will be able in the future, too, to make use of international tensions to realize their political aims towards the other imperialist states, which are their allies and at the same time their opponents. In the past they have had success with these tactics several times. Every time imperialism caused great world-wide crises the Bonn rulers succeeded in consolidating their position among the imperialist powers. I recall Korea, the West Berlin frontline city policy,

Cuba. Conversely their political prestige always decreased when the ideas of relaxation, understanding and peaceful coexistence exerted a stronger influence. The Bonn rulers obviously believe that further international and national tensions and conflicts provoked by them could contribute to mitigating the antagonistic contradictions bearing on them. This politically and economically founded interest in tensions and provocations in the world, especially in Central Europe, has become an authoritative motive of the Bonn rulers and intensifies the danger of their policy.

Ward off Disaster at the Right Time

Into this situation in West Germany bursts our correspondence, our open-hearted discussion with the West German working class. The repercussions up to now already show that we have chosen the right moment and that we correctly assess the situation in West Germany. We make efforts with our dialogue with the SPD to facilitate a correct political orientation to all those forces in West Germany whose interests demand the maintenance and safeguarding of peace and democratic progress and win them for the political struggle against the war course and the liquidation of democracy. The struggle against the liquidation of democracy includes the struggle for the legalization of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD). No social democrat and no bourgeois democrat can allege that bourgeois democracy

exists in the West German state as long as the KPD is banned and persecuted.

Disaster must be warded off at the right time! This is the idea by which our party is guided together with all peace-loving and progressive people. I do not contradict Willy Brandt, the chairman of the SPD, when he says: "It is important to say what's what. In addition it is important to speak of what must be possible today, what could be done in practice today in divided Germany to ease the consequences of the division for the people."

But Willy Brandt puts the cart before the horse. The division is not the cause, but the consequence of the acquisition of power by West German big capital with the help of the US occupation power. No West German citizen was asked when the USA together with the most reactionary big capitalist circles introduced the West German separate currency, organized the bizonal, the trizone and the West German separatist state and thus divided Germany. And the present policy of these forces even threatens the physical existence of the Germans.

To help the people in divided Germany means above everything else to protect the lives of people from the dealings of the armament millionaires, from the emergency legislation, from the entire lying propaganda of the cold war which is conducted against the GDR. It is literally a question of the life of the people, the future of the nation.

Kurt Mattick, West Berlin SPD chairman, confirmed in a speech on

22 April before the district congress of the SPD that in our Open Letter we made the struggle for the safeguarding of peace in Germany a matter of discussion at the correct moment. He said: "We want to prepare the day on which the big powers of this world orient themselves anew after the Vietnam war. Then the German problem will be on the agenda, too. That must be known by our allies, too."

The preparation mentioned by Kurt Mattick is already in full swing in the Bonn government. The moral and material support of the war crimes of the USA against the Vietnamese people is to create conditions for the rolling up of the German problem in the sense of West German monopoly capital. Therefore the great efforts of the Bonn government for the shared control of atomic weapons. Kurt Mattick, leading official of social democracy, does not want the German question to be settled by the Germans, by understanding between the two German states, but through the Washington-Bonn axis.

It is indeed high time to present the connections of politics to the population of West Germany. The visit of West German citizens to the GDR and the visit of 700,000 West Berliners to the capital of the GDR these Easter days did not contribute anything to the safeguarding of peace and the peaceful settlement of the German question, it did not change the aggressive policy of the West German militarists. We did not come one step closer to the normalization of relations between the two German states.

It is time therefore to put the basic questions of the Germany policy into the focal point.

We are aware that any rapprochement and understanding of the two biggest parties must be preceded by an open dialogue. We have taken the initiative out of concern for the destiny of the working class and the whole people of the West German Federal Republic.

It is our first aim to end the cold war step by step and to work out first what unites us and what could facilitate the necessary rapprochement and understanding of our two parties in the interest of peace.

In these circumstances the open discussion between the SED and SPD is scarcely conceivable without occasional sharpness in the matter and in formulations. But we are making efforts – as is proved by our three letters – to avoid insults and say nothing which could be understood as a provocation. Unfortunately SPD leaders have included irrelevant insulting allegations in their "Open Replies".

It may only be mentioned by the way that the SPD Executive even neglects the most customary manners which are generally practised by people in social intercourse. We think it is a shame that this renunciation of civilized manners is practised by the SPD in the very relations of the German workers' parties among each other.

I ask our comrades and friends to subdue their justified indignation at the to some extent unheard-of irrelevant tenor of the document of the SPD

Executive. In the provocative tone which unfortunately devalues a few passages of the social democratic document we see the handwriting of persons who would like to stop the open talk between the SED and SPD.

For the rest I refer to the comment contained in our draft resolution.

In accordance with the style of government of the "formed society" in which the West German federal chancellor and the leading group of the CDU/ CSU determine the policy according to the wishes of the big employers' associations, Herr Erhard has now called on the heads of the Bundestag parliamentary groups to report on the correspondence between the SED and SPD. Naturally Herr Erhard cannot prevent the discussion between the working class of the two German states. But it is interesting that Herr Barzel tried to influence the social democratic leadership so that in the dialogue with the SED the SPD does not say anything against atomic armament, the shared control of the Bonn government over atomic weapons and against the emergency legislation as well as for an understanding of the German states.

But Herr Erhard and Herr Barzel were not able to prevent that already now the attitude to atomic armament, the support of the war of the USA against Vietnam by the federal government and to the emergency legislation is in the centre of the discussion.

When peace is to be safeguarded for Germany and the German question is to be brought nearer to a peaceful settlement the rapprochement be-

tween SED and SPD and the rapprochement and understanding of the two German states are indispensable.

The test of a German peace policy, however, is the opposition to the material and moral support of the barbaric war of the USA against the Vietnamese people struggling for their freedom.

Thus it is not a question of a few people in West Germany whose chief concern obviously is how the yellow Press products of the Springer trust or the fascist *Deutsche Soldatenzeitung* can be smuggled into the GDR or how the crossing of the state frontier of the GDR can be eased for fascist circles from West Germany.

The summoning of the leaders of the parties of the West German Bundestag by Chancellor Erhard not only served the purpose of exerting political pressure. Herr Erhard is also concerned because of the provincial diet elections in North Rhine-Westphalia. The crude inventions and defamatory allegations which are contained in the second Open Letter of the SPD Executive to the SED are also possibly connected with these elections.

The hysterical reaction of the West German reactionary press headed by the Springer trust which wants to incite a pogrom atmosphere against the GDR and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and its officials and, in doing so, do not even refrain from murder, obviously has the same causes. These seem to us to be highly noteworthy poisonous blossoms of the allegedly "liberal-democratic basic system" in the West German Federal

Republic which is praised to us so obtrusively. Obviously the democracy of the Federal Republic has already entered the road at whose end there will probably be no more democracy and no free citizen.

The recent provocations in West Berlin which are quite openly directed against the talks between the SED and SPD are judged by us to be very serious. The initiative for these provocative meetings in violation of international law of 17 commissions of the West German Bundestag in West Berlin undoubtedly proceeded from the West German CDU/CSU and its Erhard government. But we cannot overlook the fact that these meetings could not have been convoked without the approval of the SPD deputies and without the approval of the West Berlin Senate which is formed by the SPD.

No Bundestag deputy of the SPD can really dispute that, for example, the West Berlin meeting of that Bundestag commission which is to deal with reports on the US war on the Vietnamese people and, in doing so, is to recommend further measures of support of the Bonn government, is a provocation not only against the GDR but at the same time against the peace-loving forces in West Germany and also against the West Berlin social democrats who protest against the US war on the Vietnamese people.

Herr Erhard, the West German head of government who was illegally smuggled into West Berlin aboard an American military plane used the

events of the Bundestag commissions serving the cold war to declare – I quote the official West German news agency DPA – that I am “no welcome guest in the West German Federal Republic”. Furthermore the West German head of government declared – I quote the American news agency UPI – that there would be no legal possibility in the West German Federal Republic which could prevent a public prosecutor from intervening in his own way in the talks between the SED and SPD, for example, through the arrest of officials of the SED. That means that Herr Erhard is openly asking the West German judiciary to prevent the appearance of speakers of the SED in West Germany by arrest, if necessary.

Herr Erhard dealt out public reproof to the SPD in West Berlin for its attitude towards the SED and declared that those SPD officials who would take part in SED events in the GDR to be split personalities, as he called it. Thus, for example, Willy Brandt would have to leave at home his capacity as West Berlin mayor. He could only travel and appear as an SPD official. It is puzzling how he is to do that; should he perhaps resign from his office as West Berlin mayor for these hours?

I ask Comrade Willy Brandt, chairman of the SPD: “What’s all this hubbub in West Berlin? Do you expect something for the SPD from the increased tension resulting from the illegal meetings of Bundestag commissions there? Do you expect something for the SPD from a strengthening of the influence of the CDU/CSU in West Berlin, which is tantamount

to strengthening the influence of the most reactionary circles of armament capital and the militarists?

I ask Comrade Brandt: How do you reconcile your approval of these provocations in West Berlin with the correspondence between the SED and SPD? Does this fuss in West Berlin against the GDR belong to the tactics of the SPD Executive?

We would like to state that we have taken the initiative for the exchange of opinions and arguments with the aim of rapprochement and understanding in order thereby to serve reconciliation and peace in Germany. As a reply we are offered such provocations.

All this confirms the correctness of the statement set forth in detail in our draft resolution first to allow the West German electoral contest in North Rhine-Westphalia and also the SPD congress in Dortmund to pass before the meetings proposed by us take place in Karl Marx Stadt and Essen. The cramped electoral atmosphere in connection with North Rhine-Westphalia could seriously disturb our concern – rapprochement and understanding of the two biggest German parties. And we would like to assume that the SPD Executive has not yet replied to the basic questions of our first letter because it wants to reserve this for the Dortmund congress.

After the elections in North Rhine-Westphalia we hope that we shall have a more tranquil atmosphere for our open talk. And after the Dortmund congress we shall also know whether and in what way the SPD

works out an alternative to the policy of the CDU government on the German question. It is therefore recommendable for us, too, to link our reply to the statements of the SPD Executive to our attitude to the relevant decisions of the SPD congress.

We propose that the delegates of the SPD congress in Dortmund receive copies of the first letters and the programmatic speech on the 20th anniversary of the SED as well as of the Grey Plan of the Mende ministry on the plundering of the GDR and its citizens and the directives of the Bonn government for the undercover war against the GDR for study and discussion.

Meanwhile we have proposed to the SPD Executive that the representatives of the two party leaderships meet already at the end of this week for the first deliberations on the carrying through of the two meetings. The Political Bureau of the SED has appointed Comrades Paul Verner and Werner Lamberz as our representatives. We think that the negotiations between the representatives of the two parties could be carried through alternately in the capital of the GDR and the seat of the SPD Executive in Bonn.

Remarks on Some Arguments of the SPD Press

Dear Comrades,

We attribute such significance to the basic questions raised in the discussion up to now that we are not only carrying through a thorough discussion here in the Central Committee but also intend to approve the proposal of the bloc parties to deliberate the whole complex of questions at a session of the National Council of the National Front.

I want to deal here but with a few arguments of the SPD press.

The SPD press tries to reject our statement that the government of the West German Federal Republic endangers peace in Europe with its revanchist polciy and in so doing enjoys the support of the SPD leadership.

The SPD press refers to a diplomatic note of the Bonn government of 25 March 1966 and declares that the German people want to live in peace and freedom and that the thought of a new war is intolerable to them. The German people do not want a new war to start from German soil.

We, too, are of the opinion that the majority of the West German population desires peace. But the opinion of the people is one thing and the policy of the CDU/CSU government in Bonn a quite different one.

In the note cited, the demand for the frontiers of 1937 is maintained. This alone unmasks all protestations of peace as empty talk. Perhaps someone can tell us the recipe by which the West German Federal Republic wants

to dismember Poland, for example, and restore the frontiers of 1937 without unleashing a war? No! Anyone who wants to change the European frontiers which have come into existence as a result of the Second World War and for which neither communists nor social democrats but the German imperialists and militarists are responsible, takes war into account as a method of policy. But the SPD leadership supports this policy. It even identifies itself with it to a great extent.

We cannot perceive reasonable grounds for such an attitude. When social democratic officials say that nobody believes in changing the Oder-Neisse frontier, that one talks in such a way only to win the votes of the resettlers and have a better position for future negotiations, it is ridiculous and yet so dangerous. Even the shrewdest negotiators of the Bonn government cannot offer and sell to the Polish government what they do not own at all and on which one does not even talk to them at all.

The note of 25 March is misleadingly called a "peace offensive" by the Bonn government and unfortunately also by the SPD Executive. But in reality only aggressive revanchist policy of the Bonn government is wrapped up in peace talks. A few states are proposed in this note for which the government of West Germany and the countries concerned may make unilateral declarations on the renunciation of the use of force in their mutual relations. Towards the German Democratic Republic Bonn does not want to pledge itself even in words not to use force. Bonn rejected

our proposals for the conclusion of an agreement on the renunciation of force already in 1959.

How did the German imperialists do it under the Hitler government? Before they marched into Austria they made solemn declarations on the renunciation of force to Czechoslovakia, Poland and France. Then they marched into Austria. Now it was Czechoslovakia's turn. And again they made solemn declarations on the renunciation of force to Poland and France and other countries. Then they occupied Czechoslovakia and subjugated it as a German protectorate. And before Hitler marched into Poland, he quickly made declarations on the renunciation of force to France and other countries.

We do not understand how the social democratic Executive can fail to see through such a crude manœuvre of the incorrigible politicans of force and revanchists and even supports it.

Furthermore, Herr Barzel, exponent of the West German government party, recently again expressed his sympathies to the USA for the murder of the people in South Vietnam. He declared on his visit to the USA that the West Germans must appreciate it and that it was also in their interest that the Americans keep their word everywhere in the world. The exponent of the West German government party declared that it served the interests of the West Germans when the USA day by day devastates unfortunate Vietnam with bombs, napalm and poison gas. And what kind

of word is it which allegedly must be kept by the US government? Where is a South Vietnamese government which allegedly has been promised assistance by the USA?

It is obvious – and nobody can deny it – that the imperialist USA conducts its own dirty American war in Vietnam and against the Vietnamese people to make Vietnam an American military colony and basis of aggression against the Asian peoples. And Bonn supports every crime of the USA. To our great regret the SPD leadership has not declared its repudiation of the US war against the Vietnamese people. This can also be seen from a comment of the deputy chairman of the SPD, Erler, who recently visited the USA and spoke there in favour of the atomic armament of the West German Federal Republic – obviously in agreement with the CDU. We ask when will the SPD leadership finally decide to oppose the murder and the murderers in Vietnam and cast its weight into the scales on the side of freedom and humanity?

Whilst in the USA, according to a DPA report, the deputy chairman of the SPD, Erler, also advocated co-possession of nuclear weapons for West Germany. At any rate this be read in a DPA report which was not denied. He obviously shared the point of view of the CDU representative in a sort of division of labour on the question of control over nuclear weapon systems in the USA.

We direct the appeal to the SPD leadership: When Bundestag members

of your party travel to the USA then at least they should not advocate the atomic armament of West Germany but the withdrawal of US troops and for removal of the US bases in the West German Federal Republic. We appeal to the SPD Executive to help see that the West German people are freed from American captivity and are finally given the right to decide freely for themselves on the unification of the German states.

Herr Barzel openly polemized against all attempts at atomic disarmament steps in the USA on behalf of the West German government party and opposed agreements on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons. In this connection he reproached the US government with making efforts in Geneva to arrive at such an agreement with the Soviet Union. The representative of the West German government party thereby declared the Soviet Union to be West German's "enemy". The USA should not conclude agreements on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons with this "enemy".

Despite great efforts we cannot perceive any peaceful intentions in all these demands of the Bonn government policy which is supported by the SPD leadership, in the attitude of the ruling circles in Bonn to the Vietnam war, to atomic armament, in the demand for the revision of frontiers and the plundering of the German Democratic Republic. These very attitudes, demands and objectives have stamped the West German Federal Republic as the dangerous second hotbed of war. This cannot be hushed up with non-committal peace talk diplomatic notes.

We would welcome it if the SPD Executive would examine its attitude in the interest of peace and keep a clear distance from this policy of the Bonn government. The present Bonn policy is finally at the same time the most serious obstacle to an understanding between the German states on their cooperation in a German confederation with the aim of the later unification into a unified peace-loving and democratic Germany. Naturally it is quite out of the question that the German Democratic Republic could join in a confederation with a partner whose policy is oriented upon a revanchist war.

We Propose Examining the Political and Military Plans of the Bonn Government

I come to another question: We proposed to the SPD the discussion on the vital questions of the working class and the nation and on the way to understanding because the way to a peaceful settlement of the German questions can be found only through the understanding of the working class and its two biggest parties.

But the SPD Executive indicated, obviously under the pressure of the CDU, that in this discussion it wants to concentrate on the demand for free frontier and tourist traffic. I do not know to what degree the political parties in West Germany are competent for the interstate regulation of

questions of frontier and tourist traffic. According to our system these are state matters which cannot be the subject of our negotiations, the more so since the SPD has no influence on government policy.

But we are ready to discuss the principle of this question with the SPD, that means we would first jointly examine the political and military plans and objectives of the Bonn government. We have quite good information in this field. And some SPD publications have aroused the impression with us that members of the SPD Executive and the SPD parliamentary group in the West German Bundestag know these plans, too.

This especially concerns the military conception of the undercover war in Germany, that means the start of a war escalation which begins with the undercover war and several variations of its continuation according to the American method.

In some parts of the Open Reply of the SPD Executive terms such as "freedom" are used over and over again with great persistence. It becomes evident that the authors scarcely make any effort to have a real discussion of these basic questions.

In using the term freedom the SPD Executive does not go beyond generalities. But we are ready to discuss with the West German social democrats freedom in the German Democratic Republic and freedom in the West German Federal Republic, openly and thoroughly.

Today I only want to say that anyone who has bat a slight knowledge of

German history recognizes that the freedom slogans of the SPD Executive even lag behind the demands of the liberal bourgeoisie of 1848. Those forces in Germany who at that time struggled against the German feudalist rule had an essentially clearer conception of what freedom is and must be.

There is also something to be said about the political objectives of the Bonn government: This is connected with the transition from the authoritarian rule – as it existed under Adenauer – to the American method of the dictatorship of finance capital which Herr Erhard likes to call the “formed society”. These political objectives are expressed in the further militarization of the West German Federal Republic as well as in the practice of the emergency laws and in the growing influence of the employers’ associations on the government policy which is accompanied by a rapid decrease in the constitutional rights of the parliament.

This reactionary political conception includes the idea that the West German monopolists should be helped to put the German Democratic Republic and the values created by its citizens in two decades into their pockets. This conception of the plundering of the GDR and its citizens is contained in an especially instructive form in the voluminous documentation of the Grey Plan of the Bonn Ministry for All-German Questions.

The social democratic comrades should understand that there are no blockheads in the GDR who are ready to open the frontier for the realization of such or similar plans, to renounce the safeguarding of the peace-

ful work of the German Democratic Republic and its citizens and perhaps even promote the so popular tourist traffic of the Bundeswehr in civilian clothes on the Hitler German model through special measures at the frontiers.

As concerns the alleged order to shoot which has also been made the favourite propaganda *canard* of the SPD Executive I want to refer to the statements in our second Open Letter. Everything has been said there. As is well known, this mythical order to shoot does not exist. Our armed forces including the frontier guards have specific instructions – as do the armed forces of all countries of the world at all frontiers in the world – which regulate the use of arms, especially the use of fire-arms.

If the SPD Executive places special value on talking about the use of fire-arms in the talks with the SED we propose the following: The military experts of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and of the SPD meet for deliberations and discussion. They would have to make it clear that the document of the West German Federal Republic on the undercover war against the German Democratic Republic and the orders of the West German Bundeswehr connected with it should be cancelled. The military experts of the two biggest parties could furthermore clarify how far the West German instructions regulating the use of fire-arms differ from those of the German Democratic Republic. Perhaps it would also be useful to recall a few experiences from the history of the German working-class movement.

The SPD Executive thinks that we should not state that everyone who violates the frontiers of the German Democratic Republic, thus endangering its security and the security of its citizens risks his life. It is alleged that this contradicts the traditions of the German working-class movement and also the history of socialism.

We are of a quite different opinion on this. The traditions of the German working-class movement and the history of socialism never demanded capitulating to reaction and opening the doors to the reactionaries, the imperialists and militarists. The real militant traditions of the old German social democracy and the German working class teach us something quite different. They teach us that reaction must be fought and defeated.

Shooting is a very peculiar thing, by the way. Precisely the members and friends of social democracy should reflect on this question in connection with the lessons of the period from 1920 to 1933. Let us suppose that in 1920 the SPD had complied with the will of the majority of the German working people and formed a government under the leadership of the trade unions after defeating the Kapp putsch. Then the question of power would have been changed in favour of the German working people. Then the way would have been finally barred to the Hitler party and the men of the *Stahlhelm*. And such a German workers' government, too, could only have told all promoters and adherents of the counter-revolution: You risk your lives if you touch the German Republic.

If the SPD leadership and its social democratic government in Prussia in 1932 had reacted to the coup d'état of the reactionary Baron von Papen with resistance and a counter-blow, German history would have taken a different course. As is well known, one hundred thousand men of well-armed police troops were available in Prussia under social democratic command. In addition there were the Reichsbanner Black-Red-Gold and other fighting organizations of the working class, especially the Red Front Fighting Union.

I am convinced that hundreds of thousands of other working people, trade unionists and members of the two working-class parties would have responded to an appeal of the SPD and the trade unions for a general strike for the protection of the republic. Former social democrats like Comrades Grotewohl, Fechner and others with whom we spoke about these bitter experiences were of the same view. They also were of the opinion that an appeal of the SPD and the trade unions for a general strike to protect the republic would have resulted in the victory of the forces of democracy. Naturally a few belts of machine-gun ammunition would have been used up in this case. And casualties would have been inevitable. But this armed resistance against fascism would have spared the German people the long night of fascist rule, the world war and millions of victims and all the rest of the misfortune which then came upon Germany.

As concerns the army the matter is quite clear. The character of an army is determined by the character of the state. When the state is a workers'

and farmers' state, then the army has to defend the workers and farmers and their state against the attacks of imperialist forces. The army of imperialist West Germany obviously has the order to carry through the aggressive policy of this imperialist state with military methods, if the occasion arises. This means that this West German army serves revanchist policy, the struggle for hegemony in Europe of the West German imperialists. The West German army also exists to be employed against the West German workers and the West German population.

The leading positions in the army are occupied in accordance with the character of state and army, too. Our army, the National People's Army of the GDR, is commanded by officers from the working-class, the peasantry and intelligentsia. The West German army is under the command of Hitler generals and officers of the Hitler army.

This is how we see the question of "shooting". It would be very useful if the friends and adherents of West German social democracy would call out to fascism and militarism and their entire reactionary following which is spreading again in West Germany: Stop! Or you risk your lives!

Thus we are for a fundamental discussion on the matured problems and on the plans and conceptions worked out by the Bonn government. We think it is time and meets the interests of the social democratic members and members of the SED for all questions that move us to be deliberated in a thorough and matter-of-fact manner. Certainly such deliberations will

take some time, but slogans do not advance the discussion of the two biggest German parties.

The Splitters of Germany Are at Work Again

In the present discussion it is asked over and over again where is the key to reunification, especially in West Germany.

To answer this question it must be made clear who split Germany. It is an indisputable historical fact that the West German big bourgeoisie, represented by the CDU/CSU and the imperialist USA brought about the division of Germany to ensure the rule of big capital at least in one part of Germany. But the key to the unification of the German states lies in the hands of the working class of the two German states and its allies, not least in the hands of the SED and the SPD and the trade unions on both sides. Jointly they have the strength to end the formed society of the West German armament millionaires and Hitler generals and to win reunification through struggle.

At present the unification of the German states is prevented not only by the West German imperialists but especially by the governments of the USA and Great Britain, too. The Paris Treaties dictated by the USA are directed against reunification. These treaties deprive the government of the sovereignty even to negotiate on reunification.

In contrast to this the treaties of the German Democratic Republic with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 1955 and 1964 preserve the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic in this respect, too.

The Erhard government is now suddenly beginning to take an interest in the national question, quite against its old customs. But for the time being this interest extends only to the attempt to bring all parties which are represented in the West German parliament and especially the SPD one hundred per cent behind the CDU.

This was also proved by the talks of the Erhard government with the representatives of the parties represented in the West German parliament on the working out of a joint German policy. The sense of the entire action is that the Erhard government wants to strictly check and control every step of the SPD within the framework of the discussion of this party with the SED, if possible.

There cannot and will not be a joint German policy between the West German working people and the CDU leadership. It should not be so difficult for a West German worker, for example, to understand that atomic armament, the creation of an emergency constitution only strengthen West German militarism and thus weaken the working class and its trade unions. Moreover, every injury to the GDR by West German circles also harms the West German working people. For the GDR is the German

workers' and farmers' state in whose strengthening the West Germans workers should be also interested.

Herr Mende, West German deputy head of government, who at the same time heads a Ministry for All-German Questions has recently been furiously attacked by politicians of his own government coalition who have become extremely nervous. The attack took place because Mende advocated a position which had been adopted by the same government coalition in the Bonn parliament not so long ago. But that had long been forgotten.

The position of Herr Mende – as well as the decision of the West parliament – is very unrealistic, too. This was also the case in 1959, by the way, when in Geneva for the first time negotiations between the governments of the two German states were to be made dependent on an order of the four former occupation powers. Political developments had made this conception obsolete already in 1959. And it has not gained in topicality in the meantime.

I ask: How, properly speaking, can a West German minister of all-German questions make negotiations between the governments of the two German states on matters concerning the Germans and the German states dependent on an order of the government of the USA, of all governments, or of other foreign governments? This is done by a West German minister, Herr Mende, who alleges that he intends to shift over to a German policy.

He obviously presumes to do so by tying himself still more closely to the apron-strings of the US imperialists, and this at a time when the latter are committing the most terrible crimes against humanity, against the peaceful Vietnamese people. Vietnam demonstrates to the whole world day for day what crimes and atrocities the US imperialists are capable of.

And a West German minister intends to build up his German policy on *their* order? We would recommend that Herr Mende have a little national dignity. Then he will perhaps abandon his absurd notions that negotiations between German governments on vital German questions may only be conducted on the order and under the sponsorship of the US imperialists and other foreign governments.

A few reactionary West German government politicians have been so startled by the exchange of opinions between the SED and SPD that they do not want to hear anything at all about reunification.

Herr Strauss, chairman of the CSU, for example, openly stated that a unification into a German nation-state is completely out of the question. And certain CDU circles hold the view that West Germany must seek unification with the French, and that the division of Germany fully corresponds to German historical developments. These circles which have come to see that they will never be able to subjugate the GDR today hasten to write off reunification completely.

This is the result of their fear of the strength and the tremendous possi-

bilities of the working class and the working sections of the German people allied with it if it really comes to rapprochement and understanding between the SED and SPD. But for the time being we have taken no more than the first steps along this road. And, as is well known, understanding demands good will on both sides.

Dear Comrades,

The discussion just begun between the SED and SPD has plunged the West German government parties and with them all the other reactionary elements into confusion. We understand this. Already in the Weimar Republic reaction was quite beside itself if there were anywhere only the slightest sign of a possible rapprochement of the KPD and SPD.

On the other hand, many tens of thousands of working people in West Germany today hopefully look at this beginning dialogue of the two biggest German parties. They hope that it will create the prerequisites for the rapprochement and understanding of the SED and SPD which is so indispensable in the interest of peace and the settlement of the national question. We shall make an effort not to disappoint the expectations of these West German class comrades and other peace-loving citizens. We shall exert all our strength for socialist construction in the GDR, the strengthening of the first German workers' and farmers' state and the understanding of the working class in the two German states and in West Berlin.

*Statement by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party
of Germany on the Exchange of Views between the Socialist Unity Party
of Germany (SED) and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)*

At its session held on 27 und 28 April 1966 the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany discussed the course of the exchange of views between the SED and the SPD.

The Central Committee of the SED is of the unanimous opinion that the dialogue between the two biggest German parties launched on the initiative of the SED must serve an understanding on the vital questions of our people, and that it should be carried on.

The SED thoroughly assessed the situation of the nation and publicly presented its ideas on the future of a peaceful, democratic progressive Germany both in its Open Letter addressed to the delegates of the Dortmund congress of the SPD and to all members and friends of social democracy in West Germany and in the address of Comrade Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee, delivered on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of our party.

It is the first time in many years that, stimulated by the fundamental questions of German policy raised by us, a discussion on the responsibility of the working class, its parties and organizations, on disarmament and the normalization of relations between the two German states and on Germany's future was started within the SPD and, what is more, in other circles of the West German population. We evaluate this positively.

The members of our party and the citizens of the GDR, however, can hardly understand why the SPD Executive falls, here and there in its reply

to us, into the spirit and tone of a Herr Barzel from the CDU who declares the GDR and our party to be the enemy.

To be sure, the CDU/CSU does not make it exactly easy for the SPD to come out of the blind alley of a completely muddled policy. But would it not be better for a social democratic party to renounce rude insults and calumnies, to answer our matter-of-fact arguments in a matter-of-fact way, too, and thus to contribute towards the elimination of the cold war and towards a rapprochement in Germany.

We do not want to pay the SPD Executive back in their own coin. It has been the enemies of our people alone who have profited from the discord between the German working-class parties. It is our goal to serve understanding between the workers of the two German states.

We are speaking on behalf of millions of citizens of our workers' and farmers' state who have swept away their exploiters and tormentors, and those guilty of two world wars, and who are building socialism on German territory in industrious, often self-sacrificing labour. Our party is aware of its responsibility as the leading party of the German state in which the working people exercise power. The citizens of the GDR can form an opinion on the vital questions of our people. The people themselves have the press, radio and television in their hands in our state, whereas in West Germany the mass media are ruled by the monopolies and are used to mislead the population.

How can the members and the supporters of the SPD as well as the West German citizens form their own opinion if the text of the letters of the SED is insufficiently published even in newspapers close to the SPD up to now? To say nothing of the mass-circulation papers owned by the Springer trust which distort the dialogue between the SED and the SPD day by day and thus withhold the views of our party from the great majority of the West German population. This does not quite speak for freedom of information, as it does not speak for the desired influence the SPD should exercise on the forming of public opinion in the Federal Republic.

We are sorry to state that it is mainly the "exchange of arguments on the pivotal questions of German policy" considered necessary by the two parties which is impeded by the fact that the SPD Executive evades answering the fundamental questions put forward for discussion, also in its last statement.

Peace and security for the people in East and West, however, call for an answer to the questions:

What has to be done today so that war will never again start from German soil?

What shall the future united Germany be like; shall it be a Germany in which the monopolies rule or in which the people themselves decide their destiny?

The SPD Executive declares "our people want to know what has to be done in order at least gradually to bridge the gap which divides Germany". We have submitted our proposals on this point and ask the members, officials and supporters of the SPD:

Are you prepared to advocate that the two German states shall renounce all control of nuclear weapons?

Are you prepared to see, together with us, that concrete disarmament measures are begun in Germany?

Are you prepared to work to ensure that the Federal Republic shall live in peace and maintain good-neighbourly relations with all European peoples and that it shall recognize the existing frontiers?

Are you prepared to help reduce the cold war and enmity, to take into consideration the realities in Germany and work to promote the relaxation of tensions and to open the road to a subsequent reunification by negotiations between the governments of the two German states on a basis of equality?

Certainly an understanding between our parties will take time. We believe, however, that in the final analysis it can be only through a positive answer to these questions that the way can be found to facilitate and safeguard life for the people in the two German states.

When the SPD Executive up to now avoids the fundamental questions we assume that it does not want to commit itself prior to the elections to

the provincial diet in North Rhine-Westphalia to be held on 10 June. Obviously, they intend to deal with the questions at the congress and to use the election campaign in North Rhine-Westphalia for proclaiming a social democratic alternative program to the ruling CDU.

We realize very well that the CDU utilizes all its resources of power, the trust-owned press, radio and television in order to sharpen the discussion between our two parties, or even to render it impossible. It may well be that the exchange of views between the SED and the SPD shall be burdened with the hysterical atmosphere customary in elections in West Germany. But we want to enter into a matter-of-fact discussion yielding constructive results. That is why the Central Committee of the SED considers it necessary to publish its reply to the second statement by the SPD only after the elections to the provincial diet in North Rhine-Westphalia.

We greet the positive reply of the SPD Executive to our proposal providing that, to begin with, representatives of the SPD shall present the views and opinions of their parties at a meeting convened by the SED and, on the other hand, representatives of the SED shall do so at a meeting convened by the SPD. We have proposed Karl Marx Stadt and Essen as the meeting places.

We must say, however, in this connection that the members of our party and, with them, all citizens of the GDR do not appreciate at all, why social democrats find the name Karl Marx Stadt so difficult that they must put it

in brackets. That is this city's name and every representative of the working class should be gratified at the fact that a German town bears the name of the man who founded the socialist working-class movement.

We also do not understand why the SPD Executive objects to holding the meeting in Essen and suggests Hannover instead. As far as we know, the SPD Executive has been requested not to accept Essen as the meeting place because of the forthcoming elections in North Rhine-Westphalia. This already shows the nervousness and irritation of the election campaign.

The cause of rapprochement and understanding between the two biggest German parties is too important to us to expose the open dialogue between us to the shadow-boxing, which is not always carried out in the most honest way, of West German elections. Of course, the spokesmen of the SED, when speaking in West Germany, will challenge the position of the SPD in a matter-of-fact way, but also with the necessary clarity. We would like to prevent, however, that the CDU receives from this or from any contingencies which cannot with certainty be excluded from the proposed first meetings the opportunity of launching demagogic manoeuvres against the SPD.

That is why we consider the dates suggested by the SPD Executive for the month of May not to be opportune, and suggest dates in the month of July. By that time, the deliberations of the SPD congress will have taken place and the elections in North Rhine-Westphalia held. We hope that some

features of the position taken by the SPD will then be more clearly outlined, and that the two meetings can be held in a calmer atmosphere.

In July it would certainly be more possible for the SPD Executive to choose Essen as the meeting place. We place great emphasis on Essen since this town can look back on significant traditions in the German working-class movement and since leading comrades of the Central Committee of the SED formerly had close connections with the workers of the Ruhr.

When the leadership of the SPD submitted the proposal to hold the meeting in Hanover, the Central Committee of the SED had to note with astonishment that the Ministry of the Interior of Lower Saxony had declared at the same time that those citizens of the GDR "who were suspected of acting on behalf of the SED and the outlawed Communist Party of Germany" would be prevented from entering. Nobody can seriously assume that the spokesmen delegated by the SED would not represent the policy pursued by our party. How is the security of the SED spokesmen to be guaranteed if the unprecedented special penal laws calling for the arrest of all members and officials of the GDR parties and mass organizations on entering the Federal Republic are still in force. Moreover, we fail to see the SPD Executive resolutely rejecting the incitement to murder engineered against leading officials of our party which is being provoked in West Germany at present.

Let us repeat our assurances that the spokesmen delegated by the Social

Democratic Party will enjoy complete personal security in the German Democratic Republic. We are for a healthy atmosphere of objectivity. The same guarantees and prerequisites are indispensable for the appearance of our spokesmen in West Germany. But in view of the hostile attitude of the Bonn government and the CDU/CSU towards the GDR, in view of the wave of hatred stirred up by the mass-circulation papers and the objections put forward officially by the West German government against the meeting to be held in West Germany, it is not enough if the SPD Executive only seeks to obtain "information" and can "not give assurances" that our spokesmen will not be caused "any difficulties". Obviously, not all the preliminary questions concerning meetings in West Germany on which the SED and the SPD have reached agreement in principle already have yet been clarified. We will closely follow developments in this direction.

The Central Committee of the SED nominated Comrade Paul Verner, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, and Comrade Werner Lamberz, candidate of the Central Committee, to discuss all questions of preparing the two meetings, including dates, with the representatives nominated by the SPD Executive.

The Central Committee of the SED would like to elaborate upon some of the questions raised in connection with the prevailing exchange of views between the SED and the SPD in various publications of the social democratic press.

We are for good-neighbourly and reasonable relations between the two German states. The Bonn government and the CDU/CSU, however, are pursuing a policy of open hostility towards the GDR.

Every day hatred is stirred up against us from West Germany and statements made that the GDR must disappear. The Bonn CDU/CSU government declines to recognize the existence of the GDR and maintains – despite all realities – its pretension to be the sole representative. The leaders of the CDU/CSU are following the mad theory that the other German state is at their mercy as long as they do not recognize it.

As hopeless as the plans of the West German militarists are, they are dangerous for the West German population and for peace in Europe. They represent the core of the state doctrine of Bonn revanchism.

The GDR and its socialist system have developed for more than 15 years without formal recognition by the West German government. Whether it pleases Bonn and the CDU/CSU or not, our state is gaining an ever greater international reputation and maintains good and friendly relations with many states throughout the world. But it is just as clear that if the West German government does not renounce its revanchist pretension to be the sole representative and if the existence of the two German states is not recognized there can be no safeguarding peace in Germany, no rapprochement and understanding, let alone a road to reunification.

Naturally, the people of the Federal Republic do not want another war

to start from German soil. If peace in Germany is nevertheless seriously threatened, then it is threatened by those forces forming an infinitely small minority in West Germany, on the one hand, but exercising power, on the other hand. It is the same big monopolies whose striving for profit and world domination has already twice in the last 50 years almost ruined Germany. They have divided Germany with the help of the western occupation powers in order to maintain their domination in at least one part of Germany. Today all of them have gained the upper hand in West Germany again, and have more power than ever before.

Do not the SED and the SPD, the two biggest parties in Germany, bear the joint responsibility for telling the people the whole truth? It must never happen again that our people are too late in recognizing from where danger threatens them.

The fact is that the big monopoly associations and their CDU/CSU government want to revise the results of the Second World War, demand a change in the frontiers in Europe and for this purpose they strive for control over nuclear weapons, in whatever form it may be. As adventurous as this conception may be these militaristic forces in the Federal Republic would like to win the Second World War after the event. That is why they reject every concrete step towards disarmament in Germany. The emergency laws, which would annul the West German constitution by dictatorial full powers, are to serve mobilization for this dangerous policy.

So-called peace notes from Bonn can – as the peoples from Eastern and Western Europe have well realized – but scarcely camouflage the aggressive policy followed by the Erhard government. The West German social democrats, too, should see through the Bonn play with war and should not let themselves be misused for this end. Today, it is not enough to talk about disarmament. Disarmament must be started in West Germany where the danger of war is constantly increasing through the demand for control of nuclear weapons and the frontiers of 1937.

Our party which, twenty years ago, was founded on the basis of the merger of social democrats and communists has abolished, together with the other democratic and anti-fascist forces, the rule of the armaments trusts and the forces interested in war for ever in our part of Germany, and thus it cut the ground from under any policy of aggression. Our policy of peace and understanding is based on this.

The Bonn government, just as the SPD Executive, has received many proposals on concrete steps towards peace in Germany put forward by the SED and the GDR government over the past years. Every West German citizen can check this. Anyone who slanders our party by saying, of all things, that it plays with war embarks upon the road of stupid provocation. Does the SPD Executive want to divert from the real dangers threatening peace in Germany? Does the SPD leadership really not notice that it personally slanders millions of members of our party and, in fact, all GDR

citizens by using this language of the CDU leadership, and that it makes it difficult for it to be taken seriously in the discussion?

Today, there exist steadfast criteria for an honest attitude towards the questions of peace and war: Are you for or against the murderous war of US imperialism against the Vietnamese people fighting for their freedom and self-determination? Today, nobody can avoid an answer to this question, neither any social democrat nor the SPD Executive.

The ruling circles of West Germany are almost the only ones in Europe to support willingly this barbarous war of the US monopolies. This imposes upon every German worker, upon every humanistically-minded person a great international obligation.

The Central Committee of the SED therefore submits the proposals to the SPD Executive to address a joint or separate declaration to President Lyndon B. Johnson of the United States of America calling upon him on behalf of the German working class and all peace-minded people in the two German states to end the war in Vietnam and withdraw all American troops immediately. Such a step would be approved and supported by the citizens of the two German states and, moreover, by peace-loving people throughout the world.

The SED would like to discuss the fundamental questions with the SPD in a matter-of-fact way. The CDU/CSU wants to obstruct just that by all means. It knows precisely that it cannot go on with its revanchist policy

without hindrance if an understanding is brought about between the SED and SPD. Fear of the CDU is in this very situation a bad adviser. The Hamburg municipal elections showed that, after the dialogue had been started with the SED, the SPD was able to score its biggest election return since 1945. Obviously, the Hamburg voters remunerated the SPD for having found the necessary courage to undertake the first steps towards getting out of the grip of the CDU.

To have common interests with the CDU/CSU means community in the blind alley of a shipwrecked policy. Understanding between the SED and SPD opens up the road to peace, security and the peaceful solution of the German question.

We share the opinion of the SPD that "contributions to peace" are also possible "in the state of partition". To this belong, above all, measures for disarmament in Germany. The renunciation of any control over nuclear weapons and border revisions would be decisively important for the safeguarding of peace in Europe. The two German states could promote a peaceful development if their governments reached an understanding and prevented the passing of all laws by means of which the existing tensions are stepped up and the division further deepened. This refers especially to the proposed emergency legislation in West Germany.

The SPD Executive confuses cause with effect in its repeated declarations on the security measures at the state border of the GDR with the Federal

Republic and West Berlin. The border between the two German states is the result of the policy of division carried out by the German monopolies. If we have protected and safeguarded these frontiers since 13 August 1961 by special measures then it was the Bonn government's hostility that forced us to do so.

We could not stand it any longer to see how millions of hard-working people were deprived of the results of their work. The GDR was to be bled white in order then to be destroyed. The militaristic forces wanted first to expand their sphere of influence and incorporate the GDR. We, together with our socialist allies, countered this drive to the East by German imperialism, which had inflicted sorrows to our people so frequently, with an insurmountable wall. "X Day" had to be called off and it will never take place in the future. Any weakening of the GDR encourages only the West German revanchists and increases the danger of war. The safeguarding of our frontiers was and is a decisive contribution to peace, and thus it benefits not only the people of the GDR but also the peace-loving West German citizens.

The continued provocations of the West German revanchists against us by the abuse of the special territory of West Berlin which is situated on GDR territory we consider as especially serious. Why does the SPD lend itself to this? Do the social democrats not realize that they are thus supporting the policy of those aggressive Bonn forces of the CDU who would

like to deprive them of the majority in West Berlin? It is a fatal error to assume that one could make a contribution to peace by seeking to weaken the first German workers' and farmers' state, by wanting to grant entry into the GDR to the Hitler generals of the Bundeswehr, to agents and provocateurs of the western secret services. The reactionary forces will never succeed in this.

The SPD Executive also confuses cause and effect in its statements concerning the relations between citizens of the two German states.

One cannot put the cart before the horse. As long as there do not exist a normal relationship and no agreements between the governments of the two German states, the personal relations between their citizens, we are sorry to say, will remain disturbed. This applies, for example, to travel. Everywhere in the world where there is regulated travel it rests on normal relations and appropriate agreements between the government of the states concerned.

At present, such relations are barred in Germany by the Bonn policy of hostility and revanchism against the GDR. It makes no sense to talk about making it easier for people and reject the only road which can lead to it. If travel and many other quite desirable alleviations concerning the relationship between citizens of the two German states are to be satisfactorily regulated the Bonn blockade of hatred, cold war and of not entering into negotiations with the GDR government must be raised.

When the SPD Executive declares in its statement that the SPD would create "the prerequisites for positive solutions for the benefit of our people through its own contributions" the SPD has a wide sphere of activity for this, even if it does not constitute, to our regret, the Bonn government.

What prevents the Social Democratic Party Executive, for example, from working for a normalization and expansion of trade between the two German states?

Why does the Social Democratic Party Executive not help to prevent all discriminatory acts against our sportsmen in West Germany?

Why does it not further the unhindered meeting of workers in the two German states?

Why does it not protest against the unfair treatment to which GDR artists, scientists, physicians, trade representatives and journalists are exposed by the so-called Allied Travel Board in West Berlin?

Why does the SPD Executive not work for the release of the anti-fascists, such as Emil Bechtle, persecuted and imprisoned, who are convicted by the same judges, or by judges with the same evil spirit acting now in West Germany who, at the time of Hitler fascism, sent social democrats and communists to the penitentiaries and concentration camps of the SS?

Why does the SPD leadership not work for the illegally banned Communist Party of Germany to be able to function freely and without hindrance again?

The last statement of the SPD Executive says that the governments of the two German states could not negotiate and trade with each other as if it were a question of foreign countries. That is our opinion, too, for in the final analysis they are two German states. Or shall this mean that the two German states and their governments do not negotiate and deal with each other at all? Is it perhaps a normal state of affairs that West Germany maintains close relations with the regime of South Vietnamese dictator Ky, with the fascist governments of Franco, Salazar und Verwoerd, and prevents in every way, on the other hand, normal relations from being established with the other German state?

We do not overlook the great achievements the working population of West Germany have obtained through their work and diligence. But everything is still to be done in West Germany in order to have a state of genuine humanity. The largest part of the wealth created flows into the pockets of a few powerful millionaires. Working men are of interest to them only in so far as they create personal wealth for them by means of which they exercise power. Just now the miners and foundry workers of the Ruhr district and their families can tell you all about it. There is no social security for working people and no security for the entire society to live in peace, where monopolies rule.

The "formed society" of the CDU/CSU is the opposite of a democratic society of free people. Working men must not remain the object of arbit-

trariness and of the lust for profit by a small group of monopolists in our era of a rapidly developing science and technology and of great social changes which are opening up undreamed of possibilities of development for the people. Today, the political right of the working people in directing the state and the right of co-determination by the workers, the scientific-technical intelligentsia and their trade unions in the economy, education, in the administration of justice and in the forming of public opinion are imperatively on the agenda in West Germany. Peace, security, the relaxation of tensions and prosperity are guaranteed to the extent that they succeed in establishing peaceful, democratic relations against the omnipotence of the monopolies and the CDU/CSU in the West German Federal Republic.

The Central Committee of the SED recommends that all social democratic comrades acquaint themselves with the considerations and proposals on the necessary democratic changes in West Germany and for the German confederation which our party submitted on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of its foundation in the address "Road to the Future Fatherland of All Germans" delivered by Walter Ulbricht.

Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Berlin, 28. April 1966

Published in this series of documents:

No. 1/1966 *The Path to the Future Fatherland of the Germans*

No. 2/1966 *Dialogue on the Vital Questions affecting
the German Nation*

No. 3/1966 *The Unity of Germany must serve Peace*

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